Clarior tenebris
IMMOTA TRIUMPHANS
Cœli specto
Asperam at Levem
Gratia
Christi
Tracto
CRESCIT SVB PONDERE VIRTVS
Splendidam
Mundi Calco

See p. 34. 238.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE IN HIS *Solitudes* and *Sufferings*.

With a perfect Copie of Prayers used by His Majesty in the time of his Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctor *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, immediately before his Death.

ROM. 8.

More then Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Printed in th: Yeer 1649.

*58C-22

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Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

1. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessitie of My affairs, than by My own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, as best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some yeares, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My selfe to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped by My freedome, and their moderation, to prevent all mis-understandings and miscarriages in this: In which, as I feared afires would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in My self; not doubting, but

by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to heare, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding some mens well-meaning zeale by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States, and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My selfe; who knowing best the largeneſſe of my owne heart toward my peoples good and just contentment, pleased my selfe most in that good and firme understanding, which would hence grow between me and my people.

All jealousies being laid aside, my owne and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the Love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my selfe in some things of my wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser if I might gaine but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my friends, but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissnesse in Church, and State, had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practise, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Vnity, and Order, then my selfe; whom it most concernes both in piety, and policie; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reforme, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant whatever my Reason and Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my selfe within those bounds, and not suffered my own judgement to have been over-borne in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; my confidence had lesse betrayed My selfe, and My Kingdomes, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to doe mischief. But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we rob'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming doe not alwayes satisfie

tisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy judgments, and hast shewed us, how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, Thou givest us cause to repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, ô Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdomes, are the Just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me

and

and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sinnes.

O thou soveraign goodnesse and wisdome, who Over-rulest all our Councels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turn our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy War, so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attaine to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

---

2. *Upon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affires of State.

For those we e prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a spheare, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needes (as the Sun) raise many envious ex-

halations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his owne diſpoſition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of juſtice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earle: when between my owne unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome People; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed Me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, than what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdomes with Men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed, I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on my part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My judgment I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſigne of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whoſe name

and

and place on Earth no Man is worthy to beare, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compensate.

Nee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calme the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans owne bosome.

Nor hath Gods justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) than the People be displeased, or destroyed.*

For, in all likelyhood, I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* Innocency, at least by denying to *signe* that destructive *Bill*, according to that justice, which my Conscience suggested to me, than I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruel a favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled me to signe that Bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the people, that no men have been baraſſed and crushed more than they: He onely hath been left vexed by them, who counselled me, not to consent against the vote of my owne Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven me and them, the sinful rathness of that business.

To which being in my soule so fully conscious, those judgements God hath pleased to

ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Iuſtice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain a like conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in My affaires, againſt the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Strafford's* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemne him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Poſſing

sting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning Party, than ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knowes) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly (though under the colour and formalities of Iuſtice, and pretences of avoyding publick miſchiefes) which may, I hope, be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am farre from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy Warre; which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own ſoules, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, than to loſe My own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Me that act of ſinfull complyance, which hath

greater aggravations upon Me than any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envie, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so farre, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge My transgression, and My sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, and My tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between My heart and My hand.

Tet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that pretious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgments, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Me, to please them by dispensing thee: O never suffer me for any Reason of State, to goe against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What

What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion which ſhines in My Soule, for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.

Lord hear the voyce of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which ſpeakes better things; O make Me, and my People to hear the voice of Joy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

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3. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand juſtice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great Jealouſies and feares; yea, and many of My friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My ſelfe ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legall Triall, which was all I deſired.

Nor

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered (those as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroyle my Kingdomes: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens owne hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publicke peace, which to preserve by calling in Question halfe a dozen men, in a faire and legall way (which God knowes was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to doe Me and my Kingdome right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (though I sought by all speedy and possible meanes to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witnesse: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is so false, that as God best knowes, I had no such intent; so none that attend could justly gather from any thing I then

then said, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were My followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at My comming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many People had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelfe, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their owne Conſciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obſtructions of juſtice among men, We muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgment, which ſhall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future Commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands, the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all my deſigne; I thought I had ſo much juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, than to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art My Witneſſe in Heaven, and in My Heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickedneſſe in My thoughts.

Then let the enemy perſecute My ſoule, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart, and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelfe.

Let not My afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſinne, in that matter; more then their Impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save

Save thy ſervant from the privy conſpiracies, and open violence of bloudy and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſſe of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintaine My right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy Servant may ever rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

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4. *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our ſins) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſchiefs, which have followed, then thoſe Tumults in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, ſoon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a ſtorme at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, ſhaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the moſt convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power lets bounds to the raging of the Sea: ſo 'tis no leſſe, that he reſtraines the madneſſe of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, then when he ſuffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to paſſe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

Which thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of Inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade

vade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houſes, meanacing, reproaching, ſhaking, yea, and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancyed, or diſliked them: Nor did they forbear moſt rude and unſeemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My ſelf and my Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwayes encreaſing to higher inflamations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe feares which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and over-awe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſe to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued, by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſalls againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civill, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring

forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening & season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancyed.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the Publique good, then obtain it by such unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens passions and Gods directions seldome agree; violent designes and motions must have suitable engines, such as too much attend their own ends, seldome confine themselves to Gods meanes. Force must crowd in, what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chiefe Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turne their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit meanes to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the sea to rage when strong winds blow upon it; so neither

ther for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have Men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, That many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelfe and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour & efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience: Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged, and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So Inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the knowne Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer States-men) owned them as Friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive, and *devoure*.

I confeſſe when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fowly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet

ye from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My ſelfe could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedome in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought my ſelfe not bound by my preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity for any man for popular terrours to deſert his publique ſtation: But I thinke it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelfe againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gaines a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a Warre, (when I went from *White-hall* onely to redeeme My Perſon, and Conſcience from violence) God knowes, I did not then think of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelfe, if I had purpoſed to engage in a Warre; which to decline by all means, I denied My

ſelfe

ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and teare thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My ſole Iudge, is My Witneſſe in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My Houſe at *White-hall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable faire Quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of My Place and Perſon, the ſafety of My Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty.) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I thing it beſt to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſinne in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election

lection and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to heare Reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publique Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdome moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme Me.

I looke upon My sins and the sins of My people, (which are the tumults of our soules against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbeare all the banks of loyalty, modesty, Lawes, Iustice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appeare, and after didst asswage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of the people, and deliver me from the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order, and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians, so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of order and Counsell.

What man cannot, or will not represse, thy omnipotent Iustice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errours by Truth, to our seditions by Lawes duely executed, and to our schismes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Ierusalem, *a City at unity in it self.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christs sake, Amen.

5. *Upon*

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in my purposes at first, to contribute, what in justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy succesſe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other designe but the Generall good of My Kingdomes) I willingly passed the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers from getting any head of prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first three yeares; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to doe, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens feares, and compass publique affaires; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses,

Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament: By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the dore upon all preſent jealouſies, and future miſtakes; I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelfe out of dores, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparallel'd by any of My Predeceſſours; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreame confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For, good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have bin ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preſerving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt lies more than any mans, ſince by thoſe Lawes, My Rights as a King, would be preſerved no leſſe than My Subjects; which is all I deſired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act: and many

many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to doe; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the leſs I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted my ſelfe undiminiſhed by my largeſt conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirme the love of my People.

Of which, I doe not yet diſpaire, but that God will ſtil bleſſe Me with increaſe of it: when Men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſſe, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor doe I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyall and cleared affections of My People will ſtrive to returne ſuch retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My Poſterity, as may fully compenſate both the acts of my confidence and My ſufferings for them; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to Men, that being profeſſedly my Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which

some men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of My own and my Subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knowes) falsly divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undoe what by my Royall assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extream fatuity of mind in Me, so farre to bind my own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knowes, though I had then a sense of Injuries; yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure my self by their not using favours, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonness; but I thought at length their own feares, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits would force them to conjure them down againe.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given my Enemies greater, & more desired advantages against me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Armes, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly setled by an Act of Parliament. God

God knowes, I longed for nothing more than that my selfe, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruites of my many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sin, as well as of Hazard and dishonour for me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too, in all probability: if some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of my owne heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seem less a Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men goe up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me downe head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchie it selfe, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonor, which

hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their owne passions, either to doe much evill themselves, or abuse the over-much goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflections upon it as a sin of My will, though an errour of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evill, because mine were good.

To thee, (O my God) doe I still appeale, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguise of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others feares, I

have

have raiſed Mine owne; and by ſetling them, have unſetled My ſelfe.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for Thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe My acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My ſelfe may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on me.

I beſeech Thee give Me and them ſuch Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and ſuch Graces as we may not abuſe.

Make Me ſo far happy as to make a right uſe of others abuſes, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon My offences againſt Thee.

So, although by My ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporall bleſſings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt ſufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.

6. Upon

6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WIth what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster* let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced by Sea to a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more than fear; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) for the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the major part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedome.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to My Iudgment; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind; nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind; and *I* may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or babarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Councel; when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and terrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to what ever tumultuary patrons ſhall project. He deſerves to be a ſlave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall Soveraignty of his Soule, and liberty of his will, and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdomes ſo conſiderable as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedome; which cannot be denied Me as a King, becauſe it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to conſent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which ſubjects Me only to God, ſo farre as by Reaſon or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a viſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe My Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crowne of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its Subjects in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs inferre; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publique; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever my selfe, as King, or the House of Peeres with me should, not so much desire as enjoyne them to passe. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing only by such Lawes, as my People with the House of Peers have chosen, and my self have consented to. I shall never thing my self conscientiously tied to goe as oft against my Conscience, as I should consent to such new propoſals, which my Reason, in Iustice, Honour, and Religion bids me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation. And

And if my dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, ativeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacy in Me, (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as doe best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weakness of their Councells, and Propositions. I may, in the Truth and uprightness of my Heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denyed any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to me, by the two Houses, Further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to doe.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more then when My Iudgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny my self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for my Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for my self.

For I can be content to recede much from My owne interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive my self to be Master; but in what concernes Truth, Iustice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the generall good of my Kingdomes; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain my consent to that, wherein myHeart gives my tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirme that to Men, which in my Conscience I deny before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead, whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when instead of Reason, and Publique concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious Freedome; For this I believe is thy will that we should maintaine: who, though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wils to thine; whose wisdome and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so farre to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and commands, that we should believe and obey rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Justice; and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou haſt set me, and whereto the affaires of my Kingdomes at present did call me.

My People can witneſſe how far I have been content for their good, to deny My self, in what thou haſt subjected to my disposall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen

them:

them by My consent in those things which I think in My Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My owne duty in Reason and Justice.

Make Me willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon Me, rather then commit the least sinne against My Conscience.

Let the just liberties of My people be (as well they may) preserved in faire, and equall waies, without the slavery of My soule.

Thou that hast invested Me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer Me not to subject My Reason to other mens passions, and designes, which to Me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee, in the truth and uprightnesse of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walke alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring Me at last to peace and happinesse with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours sake.

7. *Upon the Queens departure and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict me. That She ſhould be compelled by My owne Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Armes againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Pro-

Proteſtants; who continue firme to their former ſetled Principles and Lawes.

I am ſorry my relation to ſo deſerving a Lady ſhould be any occaſion of her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knowes not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelfe. The fault is, that ſhe is My wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands Me, to ſtudy her Security, who is only in danger for my ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwract, ſo as ſhe may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but halfe, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My bloud.

I muſt leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all duty, and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Lawes chiefely provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor

can

can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

Tis pitty so noble and peacefull a soul should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in my afflictions, will make her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights: and assure the envious world, that she loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since We do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generality, and Vulgar; for wee see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most selfpunishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themselves against Vs; and those of Our owne Household are become Our enemies I pray God lay not their sinne to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can lesse endure to see, then to sin against their benefactours as well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of My enemies is so farre veniall, as it was necessary to their designes, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive her out of My Kingdomes; lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty,

as

as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My owne Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyments of her vertues, while I enjoy My self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, re-unite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despightfull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our soules eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery, or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Sub-

jects,

jects, which profesſe the ſame Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any errour thou wouldſt have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens conſtancy be an Antidote againſt the poyſon of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profeſſe, be repreſented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceableneſſe; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious diſguiſes of Levity, Schiſme, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Diſloyalty, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving Truths, as Thine; that ſhe may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhe may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, our onely Saviour, and ſerve thee in all thoſe Holy duties, which moſt agree with his holy Doctrine, and moſt imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatneſſe in our ſcatterings and Eclypſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the losse of my Kingdomes.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for myself; nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly containe themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carryed on, for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the

pious

pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to beare what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing, unbeseeming My self, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as comming neareſt to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the charity of the other is willing to bear what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For,

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his owne and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then thus to devide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsfull to them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weale. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſinne of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God curs off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo farre pitied him; as I thought he at firſt acted

more

more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope other men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgement that they cannot ſee any thing of Sinne and Rebellion in thoſe meanes they uſe, with intents to reforme to their Models what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of zeale and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloake or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes me more pity him, is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty to Me, He ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praiſes.

Poore Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unproſperous diſloyalty, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate

a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraigne carries alwayes its owne vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it, and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt Imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though'tis certaine that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans Honour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; which beſides the conſcience of the ſinne, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to poſterity, who not ingaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it; as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more than the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come downe on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taking the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I doe not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance; pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who beare most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sinne, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their sinne, that sinne of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And doe thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crowne ever flourish in righteousnesse, and peace, kissing each other.

Heare my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Sonne Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

9. Upon

9. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the* KING.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave *Whitehall:* what Tumults could not doe, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may, as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to feare him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage, they confesse their known weakneesse, as to truth, and Iustice, who choose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King, but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that

that loves his people, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope of My selfe either to injuriousnes or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during My Reigne have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger or covetousnesse? what Widdows or Orphans teares can witnesse against Me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My owne blood? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Canon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have studied to see what ground of justice is alledged for this Warre against Me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soone end so unnaturall a motion, which (to many men)

seeme rather the productions of a surfeit of peace, and wantonnesse of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and faction (which easily find, or make causes of quarrell) then any reall obstructions of publick justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in My owne Conscience, however some men are not willing to beleeve Me, lest they should condemne themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults, (the not suppressing of which) no account in Reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted but onely to oppresse both Mine and the Two Houses freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seeme so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and judgers of their judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of justice and Freedome so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull judges

judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborne the Freedome and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their juſtice againſt them, & made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences: I know no man ſo deare to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelfe, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be overaw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones; not compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedome.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in faire and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations, and Votes to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves by the desperate activity of factious Tumults to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of *Peeres*, carried for them by farre the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the *Peers* were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root and branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and schismaticall Terrours, which never passed, till both Houses were sufficienly thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, justice, and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard my Owne, and my Kingdomes ruine, by my Defence; or prostrate my Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, than

utterly

utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Vniversall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintaine, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strickt and indispensable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Right of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most unbeseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befall me; in as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti episcopall Faction at first in this point, with My Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firme perswasion of their contentednes to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honour, for My sake, and the Commonweals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers

to me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot adde my consent to the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Iustice & Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witness I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being only such as Iustice, Reason, and Religion had made in my Own, and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against me. Wherein I was so farre from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seeme to have the advantage and justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and effectually repressed by exemplary

exemplary justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedome, becomming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other My choise desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carry with Me, which would never fit their designes: and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My selfe, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army, against Me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositi-

ons, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Iuſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation & Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality & clearneſs of judgment might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affaires between us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop my mouth, or to force my conſent: and in this truth, as to my Conſcience, (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparations for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War, on my ſide, I do not think my Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe my Prayer to Him.

For

For Thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy marrable Judgement.

O My God, the proud are risen against Me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after My soule, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, designe, or preparation to embroyle My Kingdomes in a Civill Warre; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse, how oft I have deplored, and studyed to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my owne Life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy Warre: and which were better spent to save then to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to beare the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to beare the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given first cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my owne innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least

by My silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeeme My People from this miserable Warre; since thou O Lord knowest My Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violence and wicked counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in Warre.

Arise O Lord, lift up thy selfe, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this Warre is, either to destroy my Person, or force My judgement, and to make me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choice and desire, rather to fall into the hands of Men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against my Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldst damne Me.

Be thou ever the defence of My soule, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My Bloud will satisfie My Enemies,

mies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the bloud of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the bloud of my Innocent and peace-maker Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will finde not onely a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sins, and the sins of my People; whom I beseech thee still owne for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies towards them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill War, the eyes that onely pitty Me, and the Loyal hearts that durst only pray for me, at first, might witness, which yet appear not so many on my side, as there were men in Arms listed against me; my unpreparedness for a War may well dis-hearten those that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingnesse to fight; yet it testifies for me, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my self, or to preserve what is mine own from their preoccupation.

No

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against me, and surprizalls of my strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for me; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their esteem; who would not so easily have declared a War against me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Armes left me, were those only, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Teares. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is so far best for me, That it may drive me from puttting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast myself into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprizall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia so much in reference to my own protection as My Peoples. Their

Their many and sore oppressions grieve me, I am above my own, what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to my Friends, and a Terrour to my Enemies, being unable to succour the one, or suppresse the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingship, so without any reality of power, or without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe they surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects seldome agreeing with stomacks of fellow-Subjects

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their feares, and importunities, both to secure my Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving my self of a sole power to

help

helpe, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crowne) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all jealouſies of them, as to My ſelfe; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and My People; If I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My ſelfe ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evil merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed againſt Me and them! that neither can be ſafe if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath intruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this conceſſion of Mine as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch jealouſies of the Crowne, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But

But here Honour and justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yeild to such a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no lesse then justice and honour) should have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypse My owne beames, to satisfie their feares; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have invested Me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sunne of Soveraignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to my Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many Factious distractions, which must needes follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to fore-see; so they will find it hath more mouthes too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tryed the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow

follow My enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe, (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me) they will at length more eſteem and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by My receding ſo much from the uſe of My Right in the Power of the *Militia* to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which I am ſworne for My Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeeme) who compell Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging My truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; or protecting My Subjects by expoſing My ſelfe to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civill Warre and advantages of Power cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yeilding; to which the greateſt love of the publique Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of ſafety, then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weake defences againſt the ſtroakes of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Conſciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I doe not think that I can want any thing which providentiall neceſſity is pleaſed to take from me, in order to my Peoples tranquility, and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compenſate to me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himſelf can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by Land, of Forts, and Caſtles, all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they ſtudy to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure, and beſt Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O My God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in the compariſon of thee: In the loſs of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haſte to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the preſence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If

If thou delightest not in My safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose Judgements oft begin with thy owne Children.

I am content to be nothiug, that thou mayst be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on My side, and I shall not feare what man can doe unto Me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of My distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my Soule!

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject: and justly mayst thou, by my owne Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnes of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

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11. *Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set my own safety, and my Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as my enemies can make or wish Me.

Some things here propounded to me, have been offered by me; Others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon my soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for

for thoſe Favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reſerve to my ſelfe the Incommunicable Iewell of my Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeeme unreaſonable to me, and while I have any Maſtery of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yeilding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King; as wound that inward quiet of my Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and policy are at ſome time to be denied, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeeme not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands, or importunities.

But

But to binde my ſelf to a generall and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire; or propound (for ſuch is one of their propoſitions,) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdome, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his haire, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to doe, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeemes an arrogancy, leaſt of all becomming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their owne inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reaſon, to Conſent, or Diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to aske, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reaſon, as Man, and in Honour as a Soveraigne

raign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aimes may be, and their qualities are; which last God & the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, making me their Soveraign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seekes to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aime to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation & abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who wil not admit or doe refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Be-

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven yeares hath shewed me, how well they can Governe themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be My Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evill customes preterlegall, and abuses personall had been to be removed: or some injuries done by my self, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crowne being considered by them, might

might fairly induce me to condescend, to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My selfe, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind Me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve My people according to my place.

Or (at least) I Looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wisdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeale and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Lawes dis-joynted, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to

be

be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſmes in the Church, and ſo, puniſhable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Lawes againſt them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſt paper in which thoſe are wrapped up to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.

Nor doe I ſo much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions, (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts me into, not an admiration, but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgments free, ſingle and apart did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive

changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remaines in farre the major part of both Houſes, (if free, and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption, the Government and the Miſ-government, the Primitive Patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Lawes in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulity (beleeving that all is Gold, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private diſſenting in judgement to be drawne into the common ſewer or ſtreame of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chiefe riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamours and Tumults: which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in my judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion

ligion on their ſide, as they had Tumults and Faction for their riſe, muſt not goe alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevaile againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further then I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after factious, and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgment tell Me, that the Propoſitions ſent to me were the Reſults of the Major part of their votes, who exerciſe their freedome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect my own judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdome ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude My ſelfe; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as my ſelfe; without whoſe

Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wisdome, which makes the Lawes.

But the unreasonablenesse of some Propositions is not more evident to me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; which in my two last famous Predecessours days, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it dispersed among the Vulgar; Nor was it likely so suddenly to taynt the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed

armed themselves with the many headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew such morsells, before I let them downe; If the straitnesse of my Conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do of Sacriledg, and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgement, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Iustice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods Glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for fear, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsell of

that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline My heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou faſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſedome is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant firſt with cleare diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice, in My underſtanding; then ſo confirme My will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppreſſions of My Enemies may ever enforce Me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in my Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt Me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe then a man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and injuſtice they deny that freedome to Me their King, which thou haſt given to all Men; and which Themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their privileges.

To Thee I make My ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our owne thoughts, and other mens propoſals; which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in

thoſe

those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before Me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise in thy truth, for thy honour, my Kingdomes generall good, and my own soules salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denyed, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appeares to be for the publique

good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemn Declarations of my mind which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weal

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my Conscience; whereof thou O Lord onely art deservedly more Master than my selfe.

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12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of bloud, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappy advantage to some

some mens malice against me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to my selfe, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the *Irish* Rebels did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commission but against my Command, and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for My safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needes be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I must bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trialls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they have

mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse and dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot doe well but in evill times, nor so cunningly as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the prepostrous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparkes of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despaire being added to their former discontents, and the feares of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Reli-

Religion, and the naturall desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knowes, as I can with Truth wash my hands in innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Teares, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so farre, and make such wast. And this in a time, when distractions, and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their owne safety, or designes they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose teares and bloud might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, repressed and smothered those sparkes of Civill dissentions, and jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been lesse affected with *Irelands* sad estate then my selfe; I offered to goe my selfe in Person upon that expedition; But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to shoot at any marke here lesse then my selfe; or that any should have the glory of My destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accep[illegible]am con-

fident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be: who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not only to the knowne heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholy barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalfe of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive feares, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) un-evangelicall Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Iacobs* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed; chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary juſtice, yet diſarme others,

with

with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drowne them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeale counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be curell then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborne with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) were diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chiefe of the Proteſtant party there to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knowes with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in my reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered

red not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let bloud than to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to finde more credulity in men to what is false, and evill, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try My patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to doe to look to My owne Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of My Trust as a King; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarmes of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparkes doe out of a furnace; Much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickednesse, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

Tis

'Tis Kingly to do well, and bear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsly say. And I hope I shall still doe better than they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroyle my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhausted out of my own veines; no man being so much weakned by it, as my selfe; And I hope, though mens insatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length say to his justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Wars to sheath it selfe, his mercifull justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure: the abatement of our sinnes, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once againe, which I and My Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve, should he restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion: as if we could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou hast suffered a Spirit of Errour and bitternesse, of mutuall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and My Kingdomes have hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our sins appeare to our consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgments; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sinnes, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Tet let our sinnes be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdomes.

In the sea of our Saviours bloud drown our sinnes, and through this red sea of our own bloud bring us at last to a state of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me share in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me such a pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion;

passion; Give me grace to heap charitable coales of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruell Zeale hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three Kingdomes.

O rescue and assist those poore Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they doe thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruell and desperate Warres.

Thou that art far from destroying the innocent with the Guilty, and Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the fornace of thy severe justice, a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And dealc with Me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities, If I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preven-

preventing and composing of these bloudy distractions; then let thy hand be against me, and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to mine own merit, but thy mercies, spare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

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13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory, but also speciall and late obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many, to prefer the designes of that Party, before My own interest and Honor. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming again of that Party into *England*,

land, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late New model, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand, they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which designe and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent meanes, before the divine Justice: I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the meanes, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots & crosnes of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that forme which they cry up, as the only just reformation, and setling of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seeme either passion, or some selfe-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion, for any forraigne State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for

others.

others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different opperations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant humours in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew our religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by faire and equall diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſigne now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For, it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conforme to the *Scots* pattern before ever they could be heard, what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe points, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion thoſe truthes gaine moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence,

lence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemnes mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely becaus that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force, assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the onely institution of Iesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I beleeve it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdomes, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chief Governours of States, where they lived, is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others

others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusion runs in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their owne blood, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obtestations, and pious threatnings, but onely this; to represent to Me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoyd the further miseries of a Warre; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had began, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength, and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery seekes to suppresse, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most

Vni-

Vniverſall way of the Church-Government, and eſpecially as to the particular Lawes and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdome, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think My ſelfe ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious Zeale and care, by how much I eſteeme the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Owne; and the ſalvation of mens Soules above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I thinke, without ſinne and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they have firſt gained My conſent, and reſolved, both my owne and other mens Conſciences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian nor Loyall, ſhall never either make or ſettle my Religion; nor any mans elſe, who knowes what Religion means: And how

how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force; the ambitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gaine, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondred, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the people, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings, and designes before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carrry their work on, seeme it never so plausible to the people; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come into their assistance, others of them soon

ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England*, might have purchaſed at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of God's juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the films and pre enſions of Religion, in which Polititians wrap up their deſigns; In vain do men hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe confederations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpair of their return; when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience, which

they have to Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefest Interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safety and Honour for their own advantages: However, the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply My self to God.

The troubles of My soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou Me out of My distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simpticity, which is the best policy.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah *and* Israel, *to restore* David *with as much loyall Zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue Him.*

Preserve the love of thy truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despair of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let Me not be ashamed; let not My Enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute My soul.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve Me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

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14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a solemn League and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raise Episcopacy; this they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a charm and exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand yeers possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times, till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Laymen

men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and launch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am not satisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner or carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no cleer morall necessity; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men, whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certainly in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established

bliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they account Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid ſnares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar Credulity: for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the populacy faſt to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance and Lawes, to God and Man.

Nor can ſuch after-contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without My conſent, and without any like power or precedent from God's or Man's laws, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall and eternal bonds of duty which lye upon all My Subjects conſciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull wayes; ſince I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and means they cannot thinke themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſigns, (much leſſe ſuch as are and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious)

by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preſer, ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized Novelties, before their known and ſworn Duties, which are indiſpenſible both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to beleeve and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their ſouls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſigns againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who ayme to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends and twiſts them; for every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe tyes

ryes, which, not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just and necessary obligations

Indeed such illegall wayes seldom or never, indeed the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though divers or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not the chief Design which is laid against the Church and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; so little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I beleeve many that love Me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act cleerly against both all piety and loyalty: who first

first yeelded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the word of God:* for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the general; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appeare, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyn it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keepe it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think

it juſt or comely, that by the partiall adviſe of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profeſſion, and practiſe) ſuch foule ſcandals and ſuſpicions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrin and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whoſe judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than My ſelf to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall adviſe) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Preſbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legall Rights than the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him

the only Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fils the Sails, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the Sacrilegious Temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with My Conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My ſoul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predeceſſours had given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* Divinity, and *Joſeph's* true Piety abhorred to do: ſo unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red ſea of a Civill War, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either it, or Him, who eſteems it His great-

eſt

eſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt Glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apoſtacy.*

I had rather live as My Predeceſſour *Henry* the third ſometime did, on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouthes.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts and People, is well enough known: and ſo it will be here, when from the ruition of Kings and Queen, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſſe than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power, it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There-

There are wayes enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other, under the pretence of publick Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be necessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addresse My Prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to dissolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacriledgious designs to have the countenance of Religious tyes.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to periurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all Posterity, of robbing thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath

given

given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherwith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are exhausted, My Revenues diminished, and My Debts encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations, least a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us; the Church is never likely, in times, where the charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illeberall.

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them: and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the Poor; that thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the Poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches Bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouthes, rottennesse to

to their names, a moth to their families, and a sting to their consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tonges who have bandied together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

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15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stir up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own innocency, and God's protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth, and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designs: For, I can more willingly lose My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so deer to Me, as My Reputation and Honour. Those

Thoſe muſt have a period with My Life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kind of immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating of them to an eternity of love and gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe foul and falſe aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt My Peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet I thank God, the detriment of My Honour is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſin and danger of My Peoples ſouls, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpitions, they are ſoon miſled into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not only, not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My deſtroyers; imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pitty was above My anger; nor have My paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude My moſt compaſſionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more than their own malice have betrayed to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of My Subjects fought againſt My ſuppoſed

posed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of My People, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be erroneous, but not hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the injuries done unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseperable; in this onely they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For

For this is not enough to the malice of My enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more then this doth, that I am am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forreign enemies, I could have borne it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Me: and for the restoring of whose tranquility, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided interests of their and Mine enemies, as by contrary Winds, the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My Peoples ruine, then rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My right, as of their happiness; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life and dye many deaths, then shamefully to desert or dishonorably to betray My own just Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the itch of

Novelty

Novelty, and the leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Lyars need have good memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy: and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My Patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and My Charity to forgive, then My leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider My Subjects ſatisfaction, then My own Vindication; I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of, or remember what they ſay, or object.

I would leave the Authours to be puniſhed by their own evil manners, and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I beleeve, in a ſhorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe ſcandals which they have caſt on Me; and make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not ſay Loyalty) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit and reputation, even with the People, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame fornace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and enflame to the higheſt degree of infamy, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honour.

Firſt,

First, nothing gave me more cauſe to ſuſpect, and ſearch My own innocency, then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular Piety; For this gave to vulgar mindes ſo bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to blaſpheme Him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo Religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch Popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lye for God, and what they pleaſe to call God's Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The

The wickedneſſe of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamors and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more tryall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of My Religion in the Proteſtant Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo lyable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided innovations, which the bold ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well tryed foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and cleerer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the moſt calm and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I ſhall ever, by God's help perſevere, as beleeving it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were My Subjects, any way fight againſt My Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret

interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That difference, of perswasion in matter of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of Duty, Allegiance, and Subjection. The first they own as Men and Christians to GOD; the second they own to Me in Common, as their KING; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who finde most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions.

It was indeed a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other who did but their duty to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more then is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the ayd of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned,

and to practice the worst principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My enemies) to have been then disputing the point of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords poynts: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My evil Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens Counsels but their own, should be followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Me better Counsell, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a man; or honour, as a King; making their Counsels more like a Drench that must be powred down, than a Draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties, my Self, or my Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even weldred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to my Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that my worst Counsellours ever

ever had the boldneſſe to offer to Me, or My ſelf any inclination to uſe; I could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in three flouriſhing Kingdoms, to ſuch a *Chaos* of confuſions, and Hell of miſeries, as ſome have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redreſſe what I ſaw in Reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſſe; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were ſorry to ſee me prone even to injure my Self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſires of revenge upon Me, my Court, and my Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my, either Retractions, or Conceſſions; and withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw my Peoples affections from me to their deſigns, was,

The

The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Lawes, and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy My self; so far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Me, so prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their Posterities.

As to Civill immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their ambitious and covetous Designs, over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction; losing justly his safety while he seeks an unreasonable liberty

Time will best inform My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousnesse against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender

der of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat the mirth and triumph but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſm) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Lawes and Scepter ſhould entrench on God's Soveraignty, which is the onely King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, other deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting God's Providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull eſtates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which

yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impodent malice can invent; and my selfe exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encrease the ungratefull insolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine innocencie is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object, so My reputation shall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times rise and recover it selfe to such a degree of splendour, as those ferall birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, then those whom God hath suffered to be tryed in the fornace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will do Me good, for some mens hard, false and evil speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they beleeve or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flye up and down to set all places on like flames) than those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their King against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, speak evil

evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God, should not honour their King.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supream, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black vails be able to hide the shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are al the eradiations of true Glory and Majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonour, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My soul is among Lyms, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and those that are mad against Me, are sworn together.

O My God, how long shall the sons of men turn My glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lyes?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, least My Enemies prevail against Me, and lay Mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shall destroy them that speak lyes: the Lord will abhor both the bloud thirsty and deceitfull men.

Make My righteousnesse to appear as the light, and Mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon-day.

Suffer not My silence to betray Mine innocence, nor My displeasure My patience; that after My Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on* David *he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give Me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these My enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let My Prayers and Patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let Me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil-speaking by wel-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of My Prayer for their repentance, and thy Pardon.

Teach Me David's *patience, and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through man's malice, and see thy justice in their sin.*

Let Sheba's *seditious speeches,* Rabshekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *cursing, provoke, as My humble Prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward Mee.*

Though

Though they curse, do thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſſing to My People.

That the ſtone which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head-ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave Me from the reproach of them that would ſwallow Me up.

Hide Me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep Me from the ſtrife of tongues.

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16. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all innovaſions uſhered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, muſt needs undo whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of Prayer and Devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the ſouls more immediate converſe with the Divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People than to tell them, They ſerve God amiſſe in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of conſtant Prayers, muſt be (not amended, in

what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed forms, there is no doubt but that wholsom words being known and fitted to mens understandings are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be

be weary of a wel-compoſed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any reaſon, why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of Prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, beleeves in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and digeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *Our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their Devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but whol'y caſt away and contemn the *Lord's Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the Warrant and originall Pattern of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſſions, in Publick Prayer, or any ſacred Adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, than that which

they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe Novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the moſt extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat and hinder the Spirit of Prayer and Devotion, than un-premeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities, and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of Prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent applicarion of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of Prayer, and that ſo much

much pretended Spirit of Prayer) than any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affectations, emptinesse, impertinency, rudenesse, confusions, flatnesse, levity, obscurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the senselesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burdened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaik way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the Duty, as Forms of publick Composure; or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, order, and gravity, becomming those duties; which by this means are exposed at every Celebration to every Ministers

nisters private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of publick composure.

The want of which I beleeve this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more the pitty.

However, it violence must needs bring in, and abet those innovasions, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publick Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refusing to use it, cryed out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Consciences in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit

Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (ſo ſleight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Conſciences binde them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall Novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates, leaſt being convincad by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the People by continuing the uſe of it.

Though

Though I beleeve they have offended more considerable men; not onely for their numbers and estate, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I beleeve, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their own forms, in stead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to set Forms of sound and wholsom words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou denyest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our Prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the same, and the fervency

vency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our Petitions in them both.

whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Errour conſiſts in Novelty and Variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of Variety and Novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That conſtancy is the cauſe of formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocriſie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, and other holy men) in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wiſdom to amend what is amiſſe within us, and there will be leſſe to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the

the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

17. *Of the differences between the King and the two Houses in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of Piety, as Policy, and Reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitances of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, being (as King) entrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I see no reason I should give up, or weaken, by any change, that power and influence, which in right and Reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the house of Peers

(of

(of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpition, that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practice of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late yeers, the tumultuarineſſe of People, or the factiouſneſſe and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them under ſpecious titles of *Chriſts Government, Scepter and Kingdom*; the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They muſt give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to beleeve their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbyaſſed men, that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſors the firſt and beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that

that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy pattern: That ſince the firſt Age, for fifteen hundred yeers, not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practice agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, as are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of wel-being, than the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops Power and Authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power and Authority in them as Preſident-Biſhops abovr others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the

ſame

ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name, were then, and may now not improperly be called *Biſhops*; as to the over-ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or other Apoſtolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over-large diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile, appropriated from its common notion *(of a meſſenger, or one ſent)* to that ſpeciall dignity which hath extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, untill uſe, (the great Arbitrator of words, and Maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe Power and Office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whoſe name they modeſtly, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpeciall authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpition or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches:

which,

which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound Doctrine, and cleare testimonies of all Churches practice, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the forme, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulger fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture Canons, and Ecclesiastical examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot

cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me as to recompence the injuries and loſſes I, and My deareſt relations with My Kingdoms, have ſuſtained, and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſall practice the beſt Comentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thonght that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civill Government, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more beleeve, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall Orders, and a Prelacy, in the government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of Schiſm and Diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes

Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and enjoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errours, Corruptions and partialities which are incident to any one man; also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden and *odium* of affairs, which may lye too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then to such a frame of Government which is Paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoyding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in Power and Function; but also the difference of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it:

it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcepacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retained Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholique Example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are many more than Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to weep the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a

scandall

ſcandall in point of Church-Government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks, (except thoſe Aerians) have ſtrayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their Novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did confirm contrary to their conſciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who before ever the point of Church-Government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt My conſent, have not onely quite cryed down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their

their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-Lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of Parties over some mens judgements; of whose sudden and so totall change little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the deserters of Episcopacy will appear the greatest enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest: for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and of Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the

the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practice, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their Learning and Piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity and Hospitality, meet strengthnings of their Authority in point of respect and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanness exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed My good intention made My errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose Learning, Gravity and Piety no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove or restrain them) will

will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian Party, which makes all Miniſters equall: and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for My judgement touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſign or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their King and Soverain, as ſome men have endeavoured to do, againſt all theſe grounds of My judgment, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt pretender of them deſires not more than I do, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other wayes: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation in the City or Country; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to

others, after the example of that Power and Superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their Persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blown up some mens mindes against it, that what they want of Reason or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for Bishops Lands, Houses and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to Me is no lesse sin then Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My Judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnesse of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon with judgement, break that Oath, which ceremoniously was taken by Me.

But

But being daily by the best disquisition of Truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins of Sacriledge and Perjury? besides the many personall Injustices I must do to many worthy Men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelihoods.

I have oft wondered how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, That My Coronation Oath bindes Me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender of their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade Me, That I must, and ought to dispense with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which bindes Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall rights of the Church. 'Tis strange My Oath should be valid in that part, which both My self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our souls; yet it should be invalid,

and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think My self justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonourablely give My consent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Churchgovernment, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms; for it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for what I think in My judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced in that

that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them been so happy and successfull, as to encourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other moddels of Government, I might suspect My Judgement to be biassed, or forestalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by God's blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbitery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church, and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyterers, and sober People; so as

Church-affairs ſhould be managed neither with tyranny, purity, nor popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgement and Conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knoweſt My uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe, as thou haſt ſet Me to be a defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, ſo ſuffer Me not by any violence, to be overborn againſt My Conſcience.

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe, let not thy Church be deform'd, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pitty, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be maſter of my other Rights as a King, yet preſerve me in that liberty of reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience, as a Chriſtian.

Preſerve from ſacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporal bleſſings which thy Providence hath beſtowed on thy church for thy glory. For-

Forgive their ſins and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wild Boar and ſubtill Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the firſt Chriſtian King in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe, than expoſe their Perſons, and ſacred Functions to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreaſonable men; whoſe Counſels have brought forth, and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches Peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, ſchiſms, and diſorders.

O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing Praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.

18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other offers made by the King.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity, to *seek Peace and ensue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a civill War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhance with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me, as any man; though I was like to pay

pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a King, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applyed themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse; or of such consequence, as in the least kind to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyned both, many yeers before ever those demands were made, some of which to deny, I think the greatest justice to My self, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to lose in War, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church-affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstion

had not engaged more, than any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true Piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintainance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elswhere set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the Primitive Apostolical pattern, and the practice of the Universall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wils and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of minde in Me, as will rather part with God's Truth, than Man's Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, than crosse some mens factious humours.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the unsuccessfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I beleeve I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to My People, than the preservation of My own Crowns to My Posterity.

Some

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stifness, when they see others more supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes to ask something, which in Reason and Honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Me destroy My self by dishoncurable concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set Me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any sign of true valour to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the most part presage the unsuccesfulness of any Treaty, was, some

ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers then by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelf: who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians. How oft have I entreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.

Clear up our underſtandings, to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men, and in Religion, as Chriſti-

Christians; and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of warre we have deserved, and bestow upon that Peace, which only Christ our great Peace maker cannot merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy War have at least afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with victory, by worsting My enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part, he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My Peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My Cause: and those that were with Me wanted

wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardned them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was began by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft-times over-ballance the Justice of publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skil, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the Peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Those with Me had (I think) cleerly and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to fly to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wilde Fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginary

mary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their Demands against the present Laws and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who dyed fighting against Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with Truth be applyed only to those, who sincerely preferred God's Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this World; who having no advantagious Designs by any innovation, were Religiously sensible of those tyes, to God, the Church, and My Self, which lay upon their souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their Bodies being sanctified as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporall ruine serving

as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that which their enemies bruitiſh and diſloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the field, but never, I believe at the Bar of God's Tribunall, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſparate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Mee.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpitious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and

and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the only plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation, all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn true piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own souls, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavors of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregdant convictions on mens Consciences, that even prophaner men are moved by the sense of them, to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any Victory which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Absolom*, dyed many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despair of God's mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but only restore the Laws and Liberties of My People; which I saw were extreamly

treamly oppressed, together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My Power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My enemies to moderation, and My Friends to Peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute Conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over My self. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary windes to winow us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring Peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My innocency forbade Me to feare a Warre, but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing but this, That

That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not louse with that modesty and gratitude which became their Loyalty, and My Confidence.

Had I yeelded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish only a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successes on either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, than all of us may be subject to God.

O my

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my selfe, and My Enemies by patience, which was Christ's Conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our owne strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are no thing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my Subiects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my selfe in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer: I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which only can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed, that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civill distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firme and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir

Stir up in all parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of our peace thou hast brought upon us the miseries of warre; so for the sinns of warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the bloud of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and griefe hath been shed by Me, in My just and necessary defence, but wash Me with that pretious bloud which hath been shed for Me by My great Peacemaker Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeem Me shortly out of all My troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied then that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming. Al-

Although God should not honour Me so far as to make Me an instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done

As I was well pleased with this Parliament's first intentions to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruptnesse of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion setled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Government in the Church, what Novelties of Schisms and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confusions in sacred Administrations, what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy, what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Me have followed (as thewrs do warm gleanes) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses, and (with My self) sad spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the publick sense, so that the study to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

reedom

Freedom, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councels and endeavours: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more than it pleaseth.

I have offered, to put all differences in Church-affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so it's like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church-affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*, nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cryed up for Learning and Piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and

and dangerous innovasions in the Church without any regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion against examples of all ancient Churches; the Laws in force, and My consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so cleer and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels, and such I beleeve as would have given more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designs; which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare

not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſt's Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live; The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties and private abilities in the publique ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make of ſeeming (at leaſt) to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much as if there had been no ſound or cleare Doctrine of Faith in this Church before ſome foure or five yeares conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations; (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make my selfe and all my Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up; If there had been as much

of

of Christ's Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christ's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations to such private designes as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine, nor wil any men in impartial times appear good Christians that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirme mine, not overthrow it, since as I owne mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it means in their

hearts, they could never have been ſo ill governed in their words and actions both againſt Me and one another.

As good ends cannot juſtifie evill means, ſo nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good concluſions, unleſſe GOD, by a miracle of Mercy create Light out of Darkneſſe, Order out of our Confuſions, and peace out of our paſſions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes, and Truth for Hypocriſie, ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaicall waſhings, inſtead of Chriſtian reformings.

Our greateſt deformities are within, make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt Reformers of our own ſouls.

That we may in clearneſſe of judgment, and uprightneſſe of heart be meanes to reform what is indeed amiſſe in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us, that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bleſſing.

Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions and confuſions what is the pravity of ſome mens inventions and weakneſſe of their judgments,

judgments, ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe, or ſacriledge, may have any influence upon their counſells, whom thy providence in juſt and lawfull waies ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary work: that I and my People may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace

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21. *Upon His Majeſties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected; ſo they knew not how with Honour and Civility to uſe it: Nor do I think with ſober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of vertue and Nobleneſſe being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and ſe-

crefie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses or popular captations which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses, I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts:

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own Rights, than to procure their peace and happinesse, and that extream grief to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to see my constancy to my Wife, the Lawes, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame who loves me or the Common-wealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens design, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences

differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury, my expressions can do them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more than an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to my own, then my Peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my own, and my Kingdomes Affairs, so as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwaies been very loath should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evill Counsellours.

Its probable some men will now look upon me as my own Councellour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts,

or follow the light of my own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing me to think their Counſells to be other then good for me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwaies the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and iniurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſignes as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſt My Credit with My People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all meanes to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdomes; Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to live, nor wor-

thy

thy to Reign: ; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funeralls of My Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Justice can, and will overrule the most perverse wills and designes of men; He is able; and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor doe I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost any more than so many Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be pay'd to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their *King*, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their owne consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father,; nor did his open infirmity iustifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servants of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vul-

gar, and confirme by ignoble acts their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose me to the highest reproach and contempt of my People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelinesse; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendred me as *a vile Person*, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affairs; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my people.*

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions

are

are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to returne on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine enemies use all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given me three Kingdomes, yet in these he hath not now left me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much as to God; He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my selfe, and my now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour; and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Haply God may make them a meanes honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of them, may disarme and overcome them: My rendring my Person to them may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against me, but for me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet

Yet muſt God be my chiefeſt Guard; and my Conſcience both my Counſellour and my Comforter: Though I put my body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve my Soule unto God, and my ſelf; nor ſhall any neceſſities compell me to deſert mine Honour, or ſwerve from my Judgement.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend my ſelf; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affaires, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe that have Adhered to me, and apply to thoſe that have Oppoſed me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous than that of Warre, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for My Friends ſafety, than mine owne; chuſing to venture my ſelf upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game

is loſt; better fairly to give over, than to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thank God; no ſucceſſe darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelf weakened while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not moroſely to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe than my ſelf while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our ſoules, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelfe.

As

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battail, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſeneſſe of Will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus farre to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe, that by force have ſought to wreſt them from me.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience always accompany me, in my ſolitudes & deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my Soul, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my waies to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

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23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived

me

me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin; nor gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their power; since my Soul is still my own: nor shall they ever gain my Consent against my Conscience.

What

VVhat they call obſtinacie, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancie, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire; I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me; not more a King, and farre leſſe both man and Chriſtian.

VVhat Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoule: Better others betray me, than my ſelfe: and that the price of my Liberty ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own conſent.

VVhile I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me: but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy my ſelf and mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me; yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of my Conscience, the Honour of my Crownes, and the welfare of my People; which my word may injure more than any Warre can do; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Lawes will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries nor with it, his souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldome.

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them; haply I might redeem my selfe to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than confirme many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with me, whose presence is better than life; and whose service is perfect freedome.

Own me for thy Servant and I shall never

have

have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty, which becom's a Man, a Chriſtian, & a King.

Bleſſe me ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancy in Juſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelf; and which cannot be taken from me againſt my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over my paſſion to any impatience, or ſordid fears.

There be many ſay of me, there is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and I ſhall never want ſafety, liberty, nor Majeſty.

Give me that meaſure of patience and conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from Men defeated, my Perſon reſtrained: O be not thou farre from me, leſt my Enemies prevaile too much againſt me.

I am become a wonder, and a ſcorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and ſuffer thy will, as thou would'ſt have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soul truſteth in thee: yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill theſe calamities be overpaſt. Ariſe

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

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24. *Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of his Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive me of all other civill comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined me unto, adds the Wilderness to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evill policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplaines, seems a greater rigour and barbarity than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allowes them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damne their Soules.

But my Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angell; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They, that envy my being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive me of all things else, They are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sense Charity it selfe can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chapleines.

I have sometime thought the Unchristiannesse of those denialls might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my owne Divines before their Ministers: whom, though

though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotionall complyance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some Comforters more miserable then misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to dispaire of Gods mercy; and by Justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded my own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and

Constancy

Constancy to maintaine their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomely requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for my sufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most sutable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I have neither profane boldneſſe, nor pious non-sense, but such an humble and iudicious gravity as shewes the Speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Maiesty, the Churches honour, and his own Vileneſſe; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately, as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn my heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, doe require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasionall, solitary, and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equall minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; In the other I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or find

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out of the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of rayling against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ soli*, than to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by seeming to pray what I doe not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Denyers sufficient of My selfe to discharge My duty to GOD as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, & the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better Presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crownes, then one was for devout Psalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Soules to Gods Church b

the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome and providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessitie of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no lesse enforce Me to live many Monthes without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My owne Chaplaine.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian King, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I looke upon as more prevalent then My owne, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, then those, which are encombred with secular affaires: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that spirituall Government, by which the devout Soule is Subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it selfe and its services to God, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour

honour of a Royall Prieſthood; yet, as to Eccleſiaſtical order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modeſt, and, I thinke, more pious Principles; the conſciouſneſſe to my ſpirituall defects make me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy & good Miniſters, either Biſtops or Presbyters, may afford me; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of my Subjects to reduce me; ſo as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſſe provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny me, then this of having ſome meanes afforded Me for my ſouls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them but only this, That they may ſeem too able and too well affected towards Me and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve My ſelfe; though I muſt confeſſe I bear with more griefe and impatience the want of My Chaplaines, then of any other My Ser-

vants: and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children, ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eteruall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary meanes, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and helpe My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation, (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Orator or Inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O my God, doe I direct My now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others helpe, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit which alone can both enlighten My darkeneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warme my heart, booh by the inſtructing of me and interceeding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: From thee all-ſufficiencie: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Propher and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond*

second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O looke on me thy Servant in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unitie of Spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glowins, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and increase the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of prayses, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, doe not despise the weakenesse of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soule in this uncomfortable loneneſse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denialls of those helpes, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the sofinings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, and their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite,

eire my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe incline thine eare to me; who art a God taſie to be entreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot helpe Me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward meanes, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt heare me, thou wilt helpe me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord, canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned teares my ſelfe to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceipteſt of me.

Thou O Lord didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meale in the veſſell ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyle in the cruiſe faile the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my Soul.

Which

Which yet I had rather chuſe then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting then teaching me; whoſe mouthes are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, (which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men under colour of long prayers, have ſought to devoure the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens balmes break my head, nor their Cordialls oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore Pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperitie of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe, and ſolitude of thy Servant, O my King and my God.

25. Penetentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KING's ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve eare to my words O Lord, conſider my Meditations, vnd hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto the will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; neverthelesse thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldest be extreame to marke what is done amisse, who can abide it? but there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowedge my sins before thee; which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminencie of My Place adding weight to My offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, My Personall, and my Peoples sinnes; which are so farre mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Prisoner to my owne Subjects: Iustly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Mee.

I come farre short of Davids *piety; yet since I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent sence I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evills which I and my Kindomes have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turne thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The ſorrowes of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleeved to ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryall conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheepe, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their crueltie never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee doe thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart

heart to pray unto thee; ſo heare and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Mee, and My Kingdomes; in continuing the light of thy Goſpell, and ſetling Thy true Religion among Us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſmes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predeceſſors.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of my People to thy ſelfe in Piete, to me in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of theſe Civill Warres.

If thou wilt bleſſe us with the freedome of publick Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, and ſpoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoul praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my people.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be My chiefeſt care.

The

Then will I rule my People with Iuſtice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever owne as the rightfull ſucceſſion, ſo the merciſull reſtauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me againe with peace, ſafety, and honour, to My chiefeſt City, and My parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the ſword of Juſtice into My hand to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

Wee have been mutually puniſhed in our unnaturall diviſions; for thy ſake O Lord, and for the love of My Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all meanes in the waies of amneſty and indemnity, which may moſt fully remove all feares, and bury all jealouſies in forgetfulneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are towards my People.

Heare my Prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Bleſſed

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my ſoul, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I, that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People, and thy Church be happie, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surpriſal of the* KING *at* Holmby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange Scene of Affairs, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little practice will ſerve that man, who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tels the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, then in vain to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins which lately one womb enclo∫ed, the younger

ſtriving

striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Libertie of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous then the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my Consent.

'Tis a great argument that the Independents

their

think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſigne they have a minde to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the City: which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blinde as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Juſtice; They that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but add ſin to ſin, till the later puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themſelves gainſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens ſtice? The Members of both Houſes who at ſt withdrew (as my Self was forced to doe) om the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were coun-

ted

ted Deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them, complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: Such as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary Inſolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law: Where men look more to preſent Advantages then their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good; the Authours and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop of *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped, and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for, I always wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them do, or ſuffer, any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable Bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to ſee them onely ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities, as to deſpair of their Loyalty to Me; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never beleeved malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compaſſionate grief, foreſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfull, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſins: nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becoming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, then in a right line of reaſon tending

tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in Nature, soon grows weary of it self, and ends in a refractory sullenness: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable as they act according to Souldiers principles and interests, demanding Pay and Indemnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publique Peace, that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them then my Self: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so farre esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain my Self, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in such a Peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in Mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver

Deliver Me from the strivings of My People, and make them to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against Me, and yet are ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of My Kingdoms distractions.

Discover to all sides the ways of peace, from which they have swerved: which consist not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make Me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safetie and tranquillitie which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavie wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to add fuell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to securitie, and their securitie exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with an high hand persisting to fight against thee, and the cleer convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against me.

Their

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they know not what they did.

The tears they have denyed me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they weep for Me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my bloud be upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, then of mans cruelty, or thy own justice.

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27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, if theſe Papers, with ſome others (wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in my late Troubles) come to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſign'd; they may be ſo far uſefull to You, as to ſtate Your judgment aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give You ſome directions how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kinde of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint, when I finde my leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of my Self, and uſefull to You; That neither You, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the Succeſſe; nor my Judgment of things by my Misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon You, and ſome Others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as my Self; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of mine Own.

But this advantage of wiſdom You have above moſt Princes; that You have begun, and now ſpent ſome yeers of diſcretion in the experience of Troubles, and exerciſe of patience

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intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place You.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings, the Soveraigne Diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and ſetteth up Another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty You can attain to, is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods Glory, in the maintenance of true Religion and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of Civil Power, with Juſtice and Honour, to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt, it will keep you from being miſerable: nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which center of true happineſſe, God (I truſt) hath, and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of affliction, whith he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me neerer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank; which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you (as I hope you are already) wel-grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have ever

ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which Education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition which you professe.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming neerest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your Souls, then your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Divell of Rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point you be well setled, you shal never want temptations to destroy You and Yours, under pretensions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designes.

Where, besides the Novelty, which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affecta-

ence, wherein Piety and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in Winter, then in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the publick good; for which Princes should always remember, they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned by the unparalell'd prosperity of *Solomon's* Court, and so corrupted, to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather You should be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*; good, then great; I hope God hath design'd You to be both, having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose You to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and

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intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place You.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings, the Soveraigne Disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Soveraignty You can attain to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory, in the maintenance of true Religion and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of Civil Power, with Justice and Honour, to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least, it will keep you from being miserable: nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happinesse, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, whith he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me neerer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank; which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you (as I hope you are already) wel-grounded and setled in your Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever

ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which Education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition which you professe.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming neerest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your Souls, then your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring you to them.

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So that, unless in this point you be well setled, you shal never want temptations to destroy You and Yours, under pretensions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designes.

Where, besides the Novelty, which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affecta-

affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be though Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereso they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in Your Judgment, and the Church well setled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one Side, gains You not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth You in others; who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by You: Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences & offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of Power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their counresie, You are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may never expect lesse of Loyalty, Justice, or Humanity, then from those who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their Intereſt is always made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacie; You may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but You shall feel they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeers

yeares; so compliant they were to publique order, nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: But as soone as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humors fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflammations) so did all, at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master: till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each, to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self; which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters that concerne Religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall suppressing Errours and Schismes, which seem at first but as a handbreadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your owne soul and his Church, and in profession and preservation both of truth and unitie in Religion: the next main hinge on which your

prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civill Justice, wherein the setled Lawes of these Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish Your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Lawes to which themselves have consented.

Never charge Your Head with such a Crowne, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weakenesse of whose parts cannot returne any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worse then legall Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion, and Lawes, I may (without vanity) turne the reproach of My sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing else to object against

gainſt Me but this, That I preſer Religion, and Lawes eſtabliſhed, before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learne that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with Me, as to the removall of theſe preſſures, & indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retaine in My ſoule, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to you alſo, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, as I hope he will; My counſell and charge to You, is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall,

or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affaires of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self and others, a diffidence of Your own judgment which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdome then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humors, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentialls of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall

damentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and Justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnes both in abilities, and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs cal and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Lawes, and to Me) and are secured from that feare, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designes, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and bidden under the soft and smooth pretentions of Re-

ligion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not leſſe cruel, ſo he wil be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better then a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Traine of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſell to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any deſignes, (as other men) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, pietie, and vertue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither feare any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and maske of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountaines of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendour of Your vertues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed vulgar ſhall have learned, That none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences then thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurpe power over them; Let then no paſſion betray you to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſin and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts, and clemency to heale the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Lawes; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have you alwayes propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired & accepted; let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Me of all; and I thanke God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyal and faithfull to Me and you, then thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their owne Soules moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to

make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets You beyondany Duell with any Subject; so the noblenesse of Your mind must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your own merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope, You will studie to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the lawes have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honour, and the Kingdomes Peace.

But if You never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment & obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs requires) wherein few hearts

hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with Me; I do require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in ENGLAND, is easily answered to them, or Your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late Warre against the Church, the

Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldnes to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeale abate your value and eſteeme of true Piety; both of them are to be *knowne by their fruits*; the ſweetneſſe of the Vine & Figtree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thornes ſhould pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertaine any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, betweene a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this blacke Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once

they

they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publicke intereſt conſists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in faire, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their Counsels in Common', enacting all things by publique consent, without tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men haue surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever restored to Our Right, but God in his severeſt justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sinne, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give Me, and you, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, nor enjoying upon sordid, dishonorable, and irreligious termes.

Keep you to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, you shall never want a Kingdome.

A principal point of your honour will consiſt in your preferring all reſpect, love, and protection to your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that having been a meanes to bleſſe Me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your love and care) She hath been conten-

tent with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own Innocency, and his Grace) that hee would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by your Wiſdome, Juſtice, Piety, and Valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their firſt Tormentor, nor will they eſcape exemplary judgments.

For thoſe that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no miſſe of Me when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects

jects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I beleeve You will finde them truly zealous to repay with interest that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, do You perform, when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace: This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my Restraint and cruel usage, that they sought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted, without both their sin and their infelicity.*

I pray God blesse You, and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, your Soul in true Religion, and your Honour in the love of God and your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my Destruction, let my Memory ever, with my Name, live in You; as of your Father,

ther, that loves you: and once a King of three flouriſhing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of my Crowne, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My owne Conſcience, which, I thanke God, is dearer to Me then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore Me to My Rights. I cannot deſpaire either of his Mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but goe before You to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and* His Majeſties *cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my death: for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the ſpace, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, feares, jealouſies, and cruel paſſions, whoſe envy or enmity againſt Me makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thanke God My proſperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwaies uncertaine: Death being an eclipſe, which oft happeneth as well in cleare, as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and ſharpe adverſity hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrours of it, are diſpelled; and the ſpeciall horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although my death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharpe; ſince My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his Death againſt them; which,

which as to the immaturity, unjuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn and cruelty of it, exceeded what-ever I can fear.

Indeed, I did never finde ſo much the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make me ſometime even deſire to die, if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeales, and make us over-live our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, ſafety, or eſtate; and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life our lives.

Though as a KING, I think my Self to live in nothing temporal ſo much, as in the love and good will of my people; for which, as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithſtanding, my Enemies have uſed all the poyſon of falſity, and violence of hoſtility, to deſtroy firſt the Love and Loyalty which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed,

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and onely the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all thoſe worldly comforts for which life it ſelf ſeems deſirable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimity in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valour, it argues puſillanimity to deſire to die out of wearineſſe of life; and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows, neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are leſſened or enlarged, as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher or lower: whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenſed with the dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samſon*'s Lion; but they yeeld much ſweetneſſe to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to over-live the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt die as a man, is certain; that I may

may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſodain, and barbarous death; in the ſtrength of My yeares; in the midſt of My Kingdomes; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpeleſſe Spectators; My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwiſe, as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody & diſpoſall: Whom I do not thinke to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him & to ſubmit to his will both in life & death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for Me to contend with thoſe many horrours of death, wherewith Gods ſuffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be, ſeeke to adde (as thoſe did, who Crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pompe and artifice, ſo with leſſe pity; it will be but a neceſſary policy to make My death appeare as an act of Juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne; who know that no Law of God or man inveſts them with

with any power of Judicature without Me, much leſſe againſt Me: and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour My preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies, to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraigne; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My bloud ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours, then this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding, thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſignes, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlaine.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelfe with the Church and State by my Word, or not ſuffer them to doe it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe

covetous

covetous ambition no Conceſſions of Mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever thinke, that Kingdome of Brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weake, ſharpe, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will find him both My Protectour, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knowes them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death amoug themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing me.

Their impatience to beare the loud cry of my bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by ſhedding theirs, who with them, moſt thirſted after mine.

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The ſad confuſions following my deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince My Troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded My cauſe; not ſuffering them to goe unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſinne was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up Death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example *in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake*, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thanke God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeemes to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by my danger, and the ſecurity of their lives and deſigne;

signes by My Death; forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from Me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting Me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to My death are imbrued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I thinke becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy I beleeve, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by any mans iniustice he is pleased deprive me of.

The glory attending My death will far surpasse all I could enioy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavie and envied Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the shadowes

dowes of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdome with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharpe and necessary tyranny of my Destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny against me: I am perswaded I am happy in the Judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who doe not onely pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with Me, and for Me.

These know, how to excuse my failings as a man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errours of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath beene made to the publike; the enioyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I beleeve, of softer tempers, & lesse advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evill dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to injoy their owne thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nailes been so cruell as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obsti-

obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdaine of their il-gotten & worſe-uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport & ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building & eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not feare to appeare, as to the cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my canſeleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous Judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely cleare, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearnes of my Conſcience before God, & toward my People will carry me, as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to heaven in

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the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell; as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sailes of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine. ¶

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends; while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrowes attending this miserable life; wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Authour of Truth,

Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, againſt Errour, Faction, and confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for ſin to nature, ſhall be raiſed as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my owne ſinne, as from God, and the effect of others ſinnes, as men, both againſt God and me; yet as I hope my owne ſinnes are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guilty of my deſtruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent; that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain; that my temporall death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, than the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt me overboard; though it be very ſtrange, that

Mariners

Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm themſelves have raiſed but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Soule with my Body; of whoſe ſalvation while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed, and taught others to deſpaire, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruell Reſtraints, denying me even the aſſiſtance of any of my Chaplaines, hath rather enlarged; than any way obſtructed my acceſſe to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of Eternall life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou O God art both the juſt Inflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee, than by living in our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpeciall graces and comforts in my Soule, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I ſhall neither

fear nor feel any evill, though I walk through the valley of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with me as a Man; make me to know what it is to paſs through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wils be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from

from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they loſe their own Soules?

Such as have not only reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for my Murtherers, louder than the crie of mine againſt them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their ſin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretenſions of Juſtice in deſtroying me, while the conſcience of their unjuſt uſurpation of power againſt me, chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.

O Lord, thou knoweſt I have found their mercies to me as very falſe, ſo very cruell; who pretending to preſerve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirſty and deceitful men, but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſſion and my charity.

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for my bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite mercy at laſt receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortall enmities.

When their hands ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repayed in thy ever bleſſed eternity.

Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

HIS MAJESTIES PRAYERS In the time of his RESTRAINT:

Delivered to Doctor Juxon *Bishop of* London, *immediately before his Death.*

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powerfull and eternall God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My miserie with thine eye of Mercy, and let thy infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to thee shall seem most convenient; let not injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjust Enemies the Ministers of thy Justice: But yet my God, if in thy wisdome,

this be the aptest chastisement for My unexcusable transgressions; if this ingratefull bondage be fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough humbled) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yeeld unto thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what sorrow thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of thee, (let My craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from thee) that by thy goodnesse which is thy selfe, thou wilt suffer some beame of thy Majestie so to shine in My mind, that I, who acknowledge it My noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still in My greatest afflictions depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of my Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My destruction. And if it be thy will that they more and more vex Me with punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickednesse have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve thee, without feare or presumption, yet with that humble confidence which may best please thee; so that at the last I may come to thy eternall Kingdome, through the merits of thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confession, made in and for the times of affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is only thy goodnesse that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confesse our sins freely unto thee; and of all men living, I have most need, most reason so to do, no man having been so much obliged by thee, no man more grievously offending thee: that degree of knowledge which thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of my transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered Innocent bloud to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worship, to be set up in *Scotland*? And injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldly wisdome, forsaking the dictates of a right-informed Conscience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies; for I know My repentance is weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore Mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My Prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for thine own mercies, to which O let thy Justice

at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time give Me patience to endure Constancy against temptations, and a discerning Spirit, to choose what is best for thy Church and People, which thou hast committed to My charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for thy Son Jesus Christs sake, our only Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer in time of imminent danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though my sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy anger, than so great a deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since thy mercies are over all thy works, and thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfained repentance come to thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy divine Majesty that thou wilt not only pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands and protect Me from the malice of My cruell Enemies. But if thy wrath against My hainous Offences will not otherwise be satisfied, then by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy will be done; yet with humble importunity, I do, and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that

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My cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not ſuffer through my weakneſſe or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and inlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth thy Truth, and manfully indure this bloody Triall, that ſo My ſufferings here may not onely glorifie thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to My Salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

A Copy of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the *Hague*, *January*, 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no meanes to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertaine) report; I have sent this bearer Seamour *to wait upon your Majestie, and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Majesty, I do not onely pray for your Majestie according to my Duty; but shall alwaies be ready to do all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majestie upon* SIR,

Hague, Jan. 23. 1648.

Your Majestics most humble and most obedient Son and Servant,

CHARLES.

The Subscription was thus,

For the King.

His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to deliver in writing on Munday, *Jan.* 22. 1648.

HAving already made my Protestations not onely against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly power can justly call me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more then to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-born Subject of *England* call life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if power without right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have indeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds, which hinder me to answer to your pretended impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it, (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed

deed the meanest man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.

* There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this daies proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: And for the question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles.* 8.4. Then for the Lawes of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new; if old, shew it; if new, tell what authority warranted by the fundamentall Lawes of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well knowne to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world

* *Hereabout I was stopt, and not suffered to speak any more concerning Reasons.*

to

to judge: And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-Houſe, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *Englands* Commiſſion could grant your pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdame, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Plough-man, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek; ſo farre are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for my owne right alone, as I am your King, but alſo for the true Liberty of all my Subjects, which conſiſts not in ſharing the power of Government, but in living under ſuch Lawes, ſuch a Government, as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this daies proceeding doth not only violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their publike Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houſes: for all the pretended Crimes laid againſt me, bear date long before this late

late Treaty, at Newport, in which I having concluded as much as in me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdome, together with my owne just right; then for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too wel known that the major part of them are detained or deter'd from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulnesse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in my thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdome hath flourished for many hundred yeares, (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late yeares under the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the King my Father, and my selfe, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new.

And

And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdome, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons, why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authority without violating the truſt which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people; I expect from you either cleare Reaſons to convince my judgement, ſhewing me that I am in an errour (and then truly I will readily anſwer) or that you will with-draw your proceedings.

This I intended to ſpeake in Weſtminſteſter-Hall, *on Munday*, 22. January; *but againſt reaſon was hindered to ſhew my Reaſons.*

Mun-

Munday 29. Jannary, 1648.

A true Relation of the KING'S *Speech to the Lady Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloceſter, the day before his death.*

HIs Children being come to meet him, he firſt gave his bleſſing to the Lady *Eliſabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her brother *James*, when ever ſhe ſhould ſee him, that it was his Fathers laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charles* as his eldeſt brother only, but be obedient unto him, as his Soveraign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers enemies. Then ſaid the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears, promiſed him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon his knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers head, (upon which words the Child lookt very ſtedfaſtly on him) mark Child what I ſay, They will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King, ſo long as your brother *Charles* and *James* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and off thy head too at the laſt: and therefore I charge you, do not be made

made a King by them. At which the Child ſighing, ſaid, I will be torne in pieces firſt. Which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another relation from the Lady Elizabeths *owne Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to me the 29. of Jan. 1648. being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee him, he told me, He was glad I was come, and although he had not time to ſay much, yet ſomwhat he had to ſay to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, becauſe he feared their cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment my ſelfe for him; for that would be a glorious death that he ſhould die; it being for the Lawes and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Eccleſiaſticall Politie*, and Biſhop *Lauds* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that his thoughts had never ſtrayed from her, and that his love ſhould be the

ſame

ſame to the laſt. Withall he commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to her. And bid me ſend his bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with commendation to all his friends: ſo after he had given me his bleſſing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them, for they had been moſt falſe to him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and he feared alſo to their own ſouls; and deſired me not to grieve for him, for he ſhould die a Martyr: And that he doubted not but the Lord would ſettle his Throne upon his Son, and that we ſhould be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if he had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THe King ſaid to the Duke of *Glocester*, that he would ſay nothing to him, but what was for the good of his ſoule: He told him, that he heard that the Army intended to make him King, but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his ſoul; for he had two Brothers before him: and therefore commanded him upon his bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him: and commanded him to fear the Lord and he would provide for him.

FINIS.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

SO falls that ſtately Cedar; while it ſtood,
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God, celeſtiall man,
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan:
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore;
Thy heavenly vertues, Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theme too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon thy rare-incomparable Book,
And read it or'e and or'e; which if he do,
Hee'l find thee *King*, & *Prieſt*, & *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes, call thee back again.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Tho'there were neither Monument, nor Verſe.
Thy *Suff'rings* & thy *Death* let no man name;
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.